847 under these circumstances, she usually goes to visit a relative and tries to hide her pregnancy. No one is taken in, but nobody says [756] anything. She goes to see a marabout who, for a rather high price, makes a few mysterious signs before the sinner, writes a few words in Arabic on a small board, washes the writing, and gathers the water in a gourd for the woman to drink. In case these practices are successful (?), a second sum identical to the first one is paid. [278] If not, the woman tries several mixtures, generally with a base of adjerdjir (Cassia abavata), and in case the results are still negative, the baby is simply strangled when it comes into the world. Al- [797 848] though these mores are still more or less in force, they seem somewhat reduced by Islamization, and unnatural mothers are sometimes punished severely.

174 The ahal seems to have existed in ancient North African Libyan tribes. Herodotus mentioned the community of women among the Nasamonians, and the ahal is, in fact, only a derived and evolved form of it, if one could call it evolved.

582 Marriage. -- With the existence of such easy mores, it is understandable that young men and women do not care to marry early. Women rarely marry before the age of twenty, and men, before thirty.

584 Although the girl is free with her body, as we have seen, she [593] still needs her father's authorization to marry. On the other hand, however, it is rare for a husband to be imposed on her or for her to be married before puberty, as is the custom among the Arabs.

/291/ Mates are chosen in the lovers' meetings which form a sort of trial marriage. The suitor must ask the young girl's father through one of his parents or through a religious person if there is one in the region.

[184] Among the Ihăggaren everyone is informed of the suit, but in Aïr this is not the case; there the mother and the family of [587] the girl are informed only when everything is arranged. If the woman has already been married, her father's permission is no longer necessary.

585 342 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords, tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 [533] On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 [171] The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the [593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

● 587 591 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 591 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

586 refusing herself is a case for divorce, but disgrace is then thrown on the woman, who is rarely able to remarry afterwards. The man has only to say to his wife, "I send you back to your parents," to break the marriage. But more /295/ often he hides what he is doing and sends his wife home to her family for a few days. He then delegates an old woman from his camp to announce the breaking of the marriage to the wife's parents.

If the husband has instigated the divorce, the bride price remains the property of the wife's parents, but in any case the children remain the property of the father.

587 The woman cannot remarry before three months and ten days.
587 This forced retirement for women, which is prescribed by the Koran, is called ettef or ellouddet in Tuareg language. The women themselves are called tannanleft during this period. When this period has ended, her parents and the people of her camp organize a little celebration to announce that the woman is resuming her life of "free mores."

587 Many women do not want to undergo this retirement, and to
587 escape it they shift the responsibility onto a tree called agar in
824 Tamashek (Maerua crassifolia). They address the tree as if it were a person and say to it: "Agar, relieve me of my retirement which weighs on me too much; take the burden upon yourself." They place at the foot of the tree, by way of an offering, some antimony powder, a little perfume, and a fragment of cloth, which symbolize the attributes of a woman in the state of asri. Then, without waiting any longer, they resume their life of free mores.

587 If the husband wishes to take his repudiated wife back, a new marriage is necessary and a new bride price, smaller than the first, must be paid to the woman's parents.

Murder. -- Murder is rather rare among the Tuareg. It is
682 punished by retaliation when it was premeditated and by material
628 compensation in other cases. The vendetta, which was formerly common among the Tuareg, has disappeared, making way for the dia, or tax of blood. The custom sometimes demanded that the

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one of the members of her family. 584

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist but sends her back to her parents. [582]

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been married must give her consent. [587]

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏⵜ or "tedlout" ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵜ has some quite curious features. 585

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests. If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the same. [554]

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description below. [492 556 562]

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing. 586

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry (he was seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/ [581 587]

Chapter IX

Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⴰⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb "ouker" ⴰⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 837 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get divorced and that some even say no more about it. [586]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

602

(b) *Obligations of the bride's family*:—

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The bride's family has to provide her with everything necessary for domestic life:—

1 mat tent (*ihen*) (cf. p. 350 ff., Figs. 265a–f).
1 bed (*iddabut*) (Fig. 212a).
2–3 bed mats (*isebran*) (Fig. 212b).
Further: skin-bags, eating bowls, spoons, cooking pots, etc. A certain number of domestic animals should also be included in the dowry of a bride.

584 602

It is clear that both in Ahaggar and in Ayr a marriage is connected with great expenses both for the groom's and the bride's families. In view of this it may seem important that cross-cousin marriage creates a fixed system of exchange between two families which have definite relations to one another.

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When marriages are contracted the economic aspects are not considered most important by all Tuareg. Some Tuareg will let their daughters marry less wealthy people if they are considered good men. But to many, and I believe most, Tuareg the economic aspect of marriage is important, and it is generally said that it is more difficult for poor people to obtain a spouse than it is for wealthy people. A poor girl cannot so easily find a husband as a wealthy one, and wealthy girls can be married even though they are not very good-looking.

587

Normally, a widow will not have much difficulty in getting married again even though she has one or a few children, and the same holds good for a divorced woman. But it is most remarkable that, in Ahaggar, a widow cannot remarry if she has a half-grown son of 12–15 years old who is opposed to her marriage. If the boy is unwilling to let his widow mother marry, people will normally try to induce him to yield to his mother's wish by means of gifts. But if the boy refuses nothing more can be done, and the case cannot even be brought before the *Amenukal*. There may be several reasons for this particular custom, and the following two points should be noted:— (1) When the boy's mother remarries it may imply a shift of residence, as she will join her husband's camp and the boy would live with his mother. (2) The boy's inheritance rights are reduced when his mother remarries. This is evident when we consider the rules of inheritance described above p. 137 f. If his mother does not remarry the boy is the sole inheritor of her whole fortune. If his mother marries again her new husband and his children with the boy's mother will have important inheritance rights to her fortune, while the boy will have no right to inherit from his stepfather.

581 584

Inheritance rights in connection with rules of residence are facts which are considered important to most Tuareg when desirous of arranging marriages for their children. A woman cannot marry without her parents' consent, and a man who wants to marry will have to ask his parents and a great many other relatives of ascending generations, including his elder brothers. However, what really matters is the word given by his father. If the father agrees to his son's marriage there will not generally be any further complications about its realization. If the father disagrees there will be no marriage, though in Ahaggar a grown man can bring his case before the *Amenukal* should his father not allow him to marry the woman he wants (cf. p. 400 f.).

First marriages are frequently arranged by the parents (the father) and are not necessarily contracted with cross-cousins.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matrilineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French